/74 cont./

123 437 didn't want to give me the uenek -- straps in which they carry children across their chest --; but thus we all remained at peace.

160. Among Indians and non-Indians not all acts of fondness are disinterested; you might almost say that it's rare to 123 find one which is. Not all kindnesses are gratitude, either. In any case, looking at the other face of the Indians, I see myself obliged to remember many sincere demonstrations of affection; principally on trips, many services and attentions on the part of those already educated by us in the mission, as well as extraordinary diligence and they themselves taking risks and dangers in floods in the rivers and during great rainshowers and submitting themselves to getting very wet and uncomfortable in order to free us from the same problems.

000 As a salutary and ascetic piece of advice, we must remember that the Lord giveth and doth not take away. And for this reason Quevedo said that it is a sign of a great spirit and an almost divine one to give favors without expecting recompense nor thanks. And Amado Nervo also wrote: "Miserly spirts are always lamenting the ingratitude of others; in contrast, generous souls are always surprised when they are thanked."

Chapter XIX

Do The Indians Educate Their Children?

161. A question. 162. Practical teaching. 163. Oral teaching. 164. The bogeyman. 165. Punishments. 166. Marriages. 167. Rules of etiquette.

• 861 161. In the letter from which we take this question, we were asked expressly to deal with the correction of the /75/ children and whether their parents punish their children or not, and what type of punishments are applied to them.

/75 cont./

868 162. Practical teaching. My dear interlocutor can well understand that the Indians, without setting up a pedagogical chair and a group of educators, do educate and teach their children practically. Their children, in turn, through the natural instinct for imitation, tend to copy what they see in their parents.

857 And, as we imagined, male children practice the handling of their miniature bows and accompany their elders on hunts, and show the aggressiveness and bravery appropriate to their sex, even though it may only be "killing" little pieces of sticks or stones in little improvised hammocks, making little clay cakes like cassava cakes, etc.

867 163. Oral teaching. The other teaching, oral and in-
577 tentional, is very much rarer than among us; however, I have
538 gathered in this regard some data of the old people who, obliged more than they may wish to lead a sedentary life, give their advice to the young people. In the tales which, as has often been said, form the native oral literature, the defects of gluttony, lack of personal cleanliness, carelessness in the face of what is strange and unknown, conjugal infidelity and other sexual vices, lack of love for children, etc., are all ridiculed.

538 It is clear, however, that their morality does not attain
577 the perfection of the Gospel and that frequently in the earliest
864 legendary narrations the spirit of revenge and the refinement of torture of victims is taught; there also occur in these stories sexual scenes which are extremely crude, without their taking any care about telling them in the presence of little children, who acquire a very precocious knowledge and perhaps even a very premature initiation. In this particular they evidently have a rather blunted feeling of morality.

776 164. The bogeyman. In childhood, recourse is frequently
● 861 taken to the deceit of the enek ("bug" or "funny little fellow"), which is our coco /"bogeyman"/, so that the children will not go far away, so that they will not cry, so that they will obey, etc. They use, thus, the stimulus of fear. Among other threats

/75 cont./

776 of this sort, which I have taken down in my ethnographic notes,
● 861 I remember as very appropriate that mothers of screaming children threatened to take them out of the house and call the virumaimá or some other great bird of prey to carry them off. To lazy ones carrying small guayares or loads, they say that the buzzards will dirty over those whom they see walking along unloaded.

861 165. Punishments. My interrogator assumes that the Indians under censure or correction never get to the point of punishment, and that all censure of offenses and abuses consists of expressions /76/ like those of the weak Helf: "You don't want to do that, my children; you should not do what is bad; don't make me sad." Frankly, my questioner is in error, and I must clearly confess to him that these Indians, in addition to the gentle and exhortatory "nauandok neke" ("one must not do or be thus") know how to use a quite ungentle hand of punishment. It should suffice to open the dictionary to see that among them exist aipopuetok, "the whip," and popuetok, or "simple beating."

In my ethnographic notes there are noted down two other truly savage punishments which, so it seems, mothers apply with some frequency to their naughty, impudent, etc., children. The application is made by placing them face down lying in a hammock and at a certain height above a candle and then putting on the candle ají so that it will make them suffer a coughing fit, which through personal experience I know to be extremely bothersome. Other times they stick up the rectum the same irritant, either in powder with salt (chikirimá) or simply chopped up (puemuei estamosak).

584 166. Marriages. Although these natives are extremely
581 free in the selection of a consort, and we have never seen anything remotely like the purchase of a woman, perhaps because of the very fortunate (in this case) poverty in which they live, it is clear to us and we have noted that parents positively advise

685 addnced) to be sufficiently compensated by the forceable recovery of the stolen objects or of others of equal value, without any penalty. Within the central group theft must, however, necessarily be rare because it could hardly fail of
681 instant detection.[170] The wholly non-Indian punishment of imprisonment is unknown, and the Indian punishments of whipping and of biting by ants were also said not to be in use here.

673 No actions other than physical injury, trespass (particularly on fishing waters), and theft were specifically cited as criminal and of conceivable occurrence. Voluntary cohabitation among the unmarried is not criminal, or even reprehensible, and rape and adultery are claimed to be unknown (a most
[609] unlikely statement, but no other information was obtainable). It should, how-
[684] ever, be recalled that at least one non-Indian traveler is rumored to have been executed for rape or seduction, but this was generally denied, as it probably
674 would be, whether true or not. In such a culture and community most of the crimes on our statute books are nearly or quite impossible: fraud could hardly ever be successful, debts are seldom contracted and early payment could not be avoided if possible at all, and there are no taxes, licenses, or any of the other hundred and one fruitful causes of crimes and misdemeanors in more complex cultures.

858 It might be noted here also that in such cases as we saw the minor misde-
861 meanors of children were not punished in any way and such punishment was said to be neither necessary nor customary.

Trade

433 The Kamarakotos do not have and, as far as one can judge from present conditions, have never had a completely self-contained economy. It is true that they could survive and even live comfortably on the products of their own region and their own labor, but it is also true that they do not and that the ne-
[177] cessity would mean a marked change in their way of life. Nor is this true simply
439 because they now use some non-Indian materials and articles. They also re-
[482] quire various products to be obtained from other Indian tribes. It is certain that
[171] the Guiana tribes in general had well established trade routes and a far-flung system of inter-tribal trade long before white men appeared. This trade still flourishes.

437 All trade is by barter, in the truest sense. The parties normally exchange things that each wants for his own use at the moment, not accepting articles that serve as tokens for further exchange or that are to be kept for future use. The only advance beyond this basic type of barter is that intermediate barter is also practiced to some extent. An Indian will accept or even seek something that he himself does not want at the moment, but only if he knows that he can

170 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]

parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82[2]) and it is common to see boy chums who are almost always together and often stand arm in arm.

Children in general lead unusually happy and secure lives. Although not given tasks beyond their strength, they are not treated as something apart from adult life but are integral members of society like everyone else and share in all activities on an equal basis. They are well treated and deferred to as much as one adult would defer to another. They seldom need disciplining, because they act much like their elders beyond a greater playfulness, which is quite innocent, and no adult activities are categorically forbidden them. We never saw a child disciplined and saw few cases of their needing it, in our opinion.

The small babies cry infrequently because they usually get what they want without crying. Several times when a baby cried for something that an older child had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

Until they can walk, children almost never leave their mothers. They are carried everywhere in the baby-sling, to such an extent that a sling with a baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).[2] The baby never feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry, because her breast is always there for him to help himself. He is an honored and protected member of society from his first breath. There can be little doubt that much of the placidity and amiability of the people has its origin in the baby-sling. Most civilized mothers could learn a great deal about the psychological, if not the physical, care of infants from the Kamarakotos. Their system does not, as some theorists would suppose, produce what we would call "spoiled" children, but produces happy and reasonable ones.

Some Carib tribes have practiced extensive infanticide and perhaps some still do. Of course the Kamarakotos deny this in their case, and it is so contrary to their characters that they are doubtless truthful in this denial. They seem greatly to desire children. Orphans are adopted, usually but not always by a paternal uncle, as a matter of course and are in every respect treated like their own children by the foster parents. No woman said or seemed to feel that she had too many, or even enough, children.

Modesty.

The Kamarakotos are extremely modest, but only on one point. Adults do not expose the pubic region, even before members of the same sex. Men and women show no particular reticence in performing physiological functions in plain sight of persons of either sex, but manage to do so in such a way that the pubic region is not in view. Very small boys are not embarrassed at being quite naked, but as soon as the loincloth is put on they begin to show modesty.

[2] [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 11b - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 280a, category 11b - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 266]